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► **To cite this version:**

Cécile Perret. Viable territorial development in Kabylia. A social capital approach. 2014. halshs-00992153

HAL Id: halshs-00992153

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00992153>

Preprint submitted on 16 May 2014

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Abstract

Using a decomposition of social capital nature, this research proposes an original analysis of the interactions between the social, the environmental, the governance and the economic sphere and their impact on a viable development in Kabylia, where the "art of association" is the expression of territoriality. When the governance is bad and/or when there is distrust in institutions, populations, according to their culture and to their territory, get organized to find solutions to the missing public goods. In Kabylia, the survival of an ancestral social organization anchored in the tradition and rooted values allow the local populations to overcome their difficulties.

Viable territorial development in Kabylia. A social capital approach

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Introduction

The territory is the result of a process of co-construction and demarcation by interacting actors. It is the fruit of history, myths and traditions but also exogenous or endogenous constraints (natural, human, economic ...). It is a reality crystallized in various configurations (clusters, local productive systems ...) and specific governance. Informal organizations, social orders inspired of ancient community structures can survive. They contain several levels in Kabylia (Algeria): the *âarch* (the tribe) and *tajmaat*¹ (popular assembly of the village), formerly adapted to geographical, economical and historical constraints (Bourdieu, 1958, Lacoste-Dujardin, 2001, 75-76).

The specific ties which unite the actors of a territory can be examined into the light of the social capital concept which joins in three types of relations: inter-group, intra-group and environmental (for example ties to the ground, *tamurt imazighen* in Berber language). If social capital indicates the norms and the values which govern collective action, a "quality created between actors" (Burt, 1995, 601 *In* Lallement, 2003: 5) or an 'ability to be tied' (Alexis de Tocqueville spoke about the "art of association"), then it is also the expression of the territoriality. As underlined it Hanoteau and Letourneux in 1893, all the Kabyle community is embedded in the "art of association and solidarity" as well as in the slightest interests of the private life, the family, the village or the tribe. It's the reason why our analysis is based on this concept of social capital that can be viewed on both an individual and a communal resource.

According to Gagnon et al. (2008, 1), the “viable territorial development” can be defined as being the expression of a social change characterized by the rise of the partnership, the emergence of multiple actors, alternative solutions beside the economic superstructures and the introduction of social and cultural criteria next to purely economic rationalities. The interactions between the social, the environmental, the governance and thus the economic sphere are involved.

In this research, we concentrate on the subculture of the Mounts of Kabylia in the region of Djurdjura that Romain called *Mons Ferratus* and his inhabitants *Quinque Gentii*, what means five nations or five tribes. Those tribes have no political link between them: each of them establishes a kind of nominal federation, as so many independent units, tribes ... subdivided in their turn into fractions, and free villages (Daumas et Fabar, 1847, 8-9). This already reveals, in this high antiquity, a kind of federalism (Daumas and Fabar, 1847, 10).

The first part of this article deals with the nature of social capital (concept developed by Weber (1921), Bourdieu (1958, 1980), Coleman (1988) ...): cognitive social capital (mental processes, values, norms ... which predispose the agents to cooperate), structural social capital (organizations in which the individuals act), governmental social capital (institutions or organizations), the formal civil social capital (associations, NGO) and the informal civil social capital (traditional governance systems of oral transmission). A discussion about social ties nature completes the analysis (Coleman, 1988, Loudiyi, Angeon et Lardon, 2004, Angeon, Caron et Lardon, 2006) and characterizes the ties in Kabylia. In the second part, we analyze a possible link between environmental capital, social capital and viable territorial development (Gagnon et al., 2008). Our conclusions show that if inhabitants of *tamurt Imazighen* (Kabyle ground) possesses a consequent civil cognitive social capital, a distrust in the governmental structural social capital is negative for a viable territorial development. The survival of an informal governance system of the villages, anchored on ancestral traditions,

offers missing public goods but is not sufficient to perpetuate a territorial development process².

1. THE SOCIAL CAPITAL CONCEPT

1.1 The definitions

In its posthumous book *Économie et société*³ published in 1921, Weber already pointed out that three types of resources improve living conditions: economic resources, political resources and symbolic resources (social relationships). However, until the end of 1970s, the concept of social capital was not used a lot. In 1980, Bourdieu gives the following definition: “social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (in Bourdieu et Wacquant, 1992, 119), or, in other words, in the membership to a community, as a set of elements which are not only endowed with common properties (susceptible to be perceived by the observer, by the others or by themselves) but are also close by permanent and useful connections (Bourdieu, 1980, 2). Social capital is presented as the effect and as the cause of social institution. It is an individual resource inherited from a particular social class, an attribute of the group or of the social network (Kamanzi and al., 2007, 129). It explains the social class disparities. Here, social capital reflects the saying “It’s not what you know, it’s who you know” (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, 225).

Coleman outlines “two broad intellectual streams in the description and explanation of social action” (Coleman, 1988, 95). The first one is a sociological approach: the individuals, in a social and cultural environment, are subject to norms, rules, and obligations (the actor is a product of his environment). The second one is an economic approach: independent

individuals seek to fulfil their goals constrained by the social context (norms, interpersonal trust, social networks, social organizations are important in the functioning of the society). Social capital is defined by interpersonal relations that characterize a social order. The social capital is not only seen as a stock held by powerful elites, but its value for all kinds of communities, including the marginalized or powerless. Coleman also highlights the links between micro and macro: the (private) resources that an individual removes from the valuation of his social capital have repercussions in the macroeconomic level.

Robert Putnam also presents remarkable works around this concept (1995, 1996, 2000). His definition underlines the utilitarian character of social relationships and behavior and the strategic attitudes of the individuals possessing a social capital. If Bourdieu (1980) points out the private use of this resource (he analyzes how "elites" can use their social networks to keep their privileges), Putman (1995 or 2000) underlines its collective aspect: within a group "irrigated" by interpersonal relations networks, trust and reciprocity facilitate the collective action (Houard and Jacquemain, 2006, 8). Putman (2000) argues that social capital "allows resolving collective problems, increasing individual benefits by mutual cooperation, ensuring compliance with established norms and alleviating the individual burden in carrying out their missions" (Kapucu, 2011, 25).

If the concept of social capital was, at first, associated with a strictly individual utility, thus he was quickly connected with more collective concerns (as governance and community development).

1.2 Social ties and organizations

We can distinguish two streams of the social capital: the first one in terms of values and norms and the other one in terms of relational networks. In other words, it's the distinction between the cognitive social capital, that is the mental processes of the individuals, the values,

the norms, the faiths *etc.* which predispose the agents to cooperate and the structural social capital, that is the structures (organizations) in which the agents act (Uphoff, 2000). Collier (1998) also differentiates two interdependent types of social capital: the governmental social capital (institutions, State, public sector) and the civil social capital (organizations emerging from the civil society). Once crossed, these two visions of social capital, allow us to raise a typology of the concrete nature of this concept in the style of Sirven (2000) (cf. figure 1).

Figure 1 - Concrete nature of the social capital

Nature of the social capital	Structural social capital	Cognitive social capital
Civil social capital	Associations, NGO ...	Norms, values, faiths, “art of association and solidarity”, trustworthiness ...
Governmental social capital	State, local organizations...	Laws, political system ...

We could add an oral tradition informal civil structural social capital like, for example, the governance system of the Kabyle village. Even nowadays, this informal governance system survives through the “committees of village” (or “the committees of district” in urban area) and runs in parallel of local formal institutions (Perret and Abrika, 2013-a). These committees possess their own budget, fed by contributions (of the villagers and emigrants of the village), gifts ... to finance collective utility projects (pavement of streets, pipelines of drinkable water ...). However, before dashing into important public works, committees contact the local institutions (city hall, daïra ...) to be in conformity (technical norms...). Traditionally, this “villages republic” (Camps, 2007, 297), contains several levels, of which the *tajmaat* (the "assembly" which is male) and the *âarch* (the tribe) (Lacoste-Dujardin, 2001, 75). The *âarch* is a federation of several villages bound by an eponym ancestor (Direche-Slimani, 2006, 185). *Tajmaat* (where the elder or the heads of the family can take part in) possesses the political, administrative and judicial power. Sheik Mohand⁴ identifies the basements of the Kabyle community as being *tajmaat*, the value of the effort and the importance of the brothership (Adli, 2010b, 47-48). The chief of the village (*Amghar* or *Amqran*) is elected by the members of *tajmaat*, coomposed of representatives of the village’s families. *Tajmaat*, real court of justice, applies its decisions to all the domains of life, according to the law of the village (*azref tadart* (*tardart* significates village)), a kind of Constitution. *Azref tadart* rests on a custom transmitted orally (*Llâda*

(significates tradition)) by the memory of the elders (*ouqal*). *Llâda* is adapted by *tajmaat* in the various villages (*taârfît*) (Adli, 2010a, 181). *Llâda* and *taârfît* are based on the equality of citizens (Adli, 2010a, 181). The non compliance with these laws, today the internal rules of the village (which can be drafted in a series of articles), can give rise to a financial penalty or a social avoidance.

1.3 Nature of social ties

The nature of the ties is specified by the well-known World Bank (2000) typology: the bonding ties, the linking ties and the bridging ties. The bonding ties unite individuals of identical status (horizontal ties). They characterize community relations, that is people adhering to the same representation system, but aim towards a "relational closure" (Coleman, 1988) ... even can result in discrimination. Those ties can be the ones existing within a family, a tribe, an ethnic group, a village, a community, close friends, *etc.* The linking ties characterize interactions between agents across a cleavage that typically divides society (vertical ties between social classes). They require to be reaffirmed and are characterized by reciprocity transactions. Their frequency tends to result in the convergence of representations. Finally, the bridging ties link distant agents; this distance can be geographical (an emigrated from the village) or the tie is not permanently activated. The bridging network is a virtual one. The relations can be punctual, intermittent and the respected rules are similar to "an agreement without mutual commitment" (Angeon et al., 2006, 10). Bonding, linking and bridging ties "can assist in the increasing of trust between individuals, and as such, promote a healthy and expanded social network" (Kapucu, 2011, 24). According to the World Bank, the bridging network between members of the same community or with the members of other communities can allow to obtain better public services, an improvement of the infrastructures or to access certain markets or the credit.

Loudiyi et al. (2004, 10) define three categories of simplified actors: the first one is a collective of individuals without specific common objective (G), the second one is a productive group (PG), a collective having a finalized common goal and sharing common rules and the third one is the institutions (I). To these three simplified actors, the authors associate recognizable qualities, dominant nature of social capital. To G, they associate the "live together" (bonding tie), to PG they associate the "produce together" (linking tie) and to the institutional actors (I) they associate the "organize together"

(bridging tie). The evolution of an actor in another one results from the evolution of their role and to the presence of a dominant tie.

Bonding ties are primordial in Kabylia. The family is a social primary unit, its members share a deep vision of the life in society. The most important, is the “will to live together”, shared by all the inhabitants (Adli, 2010-b, 20). Without the family and the respect to its norms, individuals “will front of huge disappointments”. A popular expression specifies moreover: "in his isolation a man is always disqualified" ("*awhid yenghat ccraâ*") (Adli, 2010b, 20-21). In the Kabyle village, territorial and political primary unit which relies the citizens, horizontal ties unite the villagers who share the same system of representation. However, the distant ties (bridging ties) with the emigrant community are essential to the development of the villages because they financially contribute to the budget of the villages and they also transfer knowledge. We could say that it's “the strength of weak ties” (Granovetter, 1973). The committee of village is a productive group in the manner of Loudiyi et al. (2004), a collective of actors having a finalized common objective, with common rules which can, if they are not respected, give rise to penalties (financial ones, social exclusion, etc.). The villagers are the core of the territorial informal governance.

The Kabyle community is characterized by the survival of *tiwiza*⁵. *Tiwizi* is an *Amazigh* (Berber) feminine word which comes from the verb *iwiss* (to help). *Tiwizi* is a voluntary work realized for the community or a particular family. The word *tiwiza*, which is a plural, is sometimes written *touiza* (arabized term), or *twiza*. It means mutual aid, solidarity, voluntary service, voluntary work or generosity. It deals with the sharing of the collective work to offer the missing public goods (pavement of a street, construction of water pipelines, ...) or the solidarity towards those who need help (elders, orphans, an owner of olive ground in the season of the picking ...). According to Mohamed Azergui⁶, this type of organization arose because, historically, the *Amazigh* community (in Algeria, Morocco, ...) has never known neither slaves, nor serfs, nor system of sharecropping. *Tiwiza* establishes a cooperation otherwise a community development. Thus, we can say that the "civil connectivity" (Gagnon and al., 2008, 1), who testifies of the presence of a dense meshing in a community, is strong in Kabylia.

2. SOCIAL CAPITAL AND VIABLE TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT IN KABYLIA

2.1 Social capital and trustworthiness

Ties intensity is often presented as an explanatory discriminating element of economic development. Putnam et al. (1993) underline that if the North of Italy is more developed than the South it is thanks to a better social capital endowment. In a search on Russia, Rose (2000) demonstrated that the leaders of organizations such as churches, clubs, political parties ... mobilize to offer the missing public goods in case of failure of the State (*In* Fafchamps, 2007, 12). But, are civil social capital and governmental social capital substitutable or complementary? According to Sirven (2004, 136), they are complementary in case of good governance (participatory, consensus oriented, transparent ...) because the implementation of ties with the civil society favors social cohesion. Nevertheless, dangers can appear, even in the presence of good governance, when the community is composed of isolated groups (the most powerful group can then monopolize the governmental structures, a latent conflict endangers the community). In case of bad governance (low corruption perception index ...), the community is in conflict with itself and there is a possibility of civil war. The lack of efficiency of the State can be mitigated by an important “informalisation” of the economy or the organization of the civil society. We adapted below (cf. figure 2) the various situations described by Sirven (2004, 137).

Figure 2 - Typical case

Social gouvernemental capital	Weak	Strong
Social civil capital		
Weak	(II) ↓ conflicts ↓ (civil wars, regionalism,)	(I) Exclusion, accapuration of gouvernemental structures ...
Strong	(III) ↓ Economic informalization ...	(IV) Good governance, social cohesion, social and economic well-being ...

There is substitution among the civil social capital and the governmental social capital in the cases (II) and (III) and complementarity in the cases (I) and (IV). This figure allows an interesting key for reading the Algerian last decades history which knew at the same time civil war (“Black decade”) and an important informalisation of the economy since the end of the 1990s.

To Arrow, if the study of the social ties is interesting, the word social capital in itself is subject to controversy. It supposes the duration, sacrifices in the present for future profits and the alienability (Arrow, 1999, 4). Yet, to him, the essence of social relationships is that they are built for other reasons than their economic value (Arrow, 1999, 3), which questions the second condition. Solow agrees, writing that social capital is a set of elements like trustworthiness, ability to cooperate and to coordinate, habit to contribute to the common effort even if nobody looks (Solow, 1999, 7). We should better discuss of “behavior pattern” embedded in a specific community. Dasgupta (2010) agrees too, writing that it is the development of the trustworthiness between the people that conditions economic development. He defines the social capital as networks between people able to establish and maintain trust. But, if social capital operates in a bad environment, he can hinder the economic development, even engender an economic decline. In Algeria, the social solidarity is often of informal nature, it exists through the family in the broad sense, the village and the personal networks called "the knowledge" (*tamusni* or in the plural *timusniwin* in Berber language). We hear frequently expressions like "I have some knowledge in such administration", "I am going to call my knowledge" ... This "knowledge" can get closer the "dark side" because it is also used to obtain privileges (to find a job, to quickly obtain a telephone line ...). Even the World Bank recognises “that personal connections can be used to unfairly discriminate, distort and corrupt” (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, 226)..

The question of trustworthiness settles differently if we assume that Human is rather selfish, rational or if we admit that he is guided by considerations. The notion of “given word” is very important in Kabylia. Traditionally, it is by the said and its metaphors, the loyalty, the bravery, the science and the knowledge, the value of the work and the given word that the man can claim he is rich (Adli, 2010b, 18). These immaterial values (*tirugza*) define the *argaz* (*tabargazt* in the feminine), word which could be translated in courageous or honest man. This ethics are either transaction rules or the trustworthiness between people who don't know each other but belong to the same community.

To Dasgupta (2010), if the institutions hasn't been reliable in the past, it is very difficult and take time to knock down the faiths. Then, the transactions will be developed at the individual level. It is undeniable that in Algeria the problem of the trustworthiness into the institutions is accurate, particularly in Kabylia, characterized by an history peppered with revolts (Berber Spring in 1980,

Black Spring in 2001 ...) and by its resistance during the colonizations (Ottoman, Arab, French...). In Algeria, country composed by different subcultures⁷, the corruption perception index is low (34/100 in 2012 according to International Transparency). An applied research of Perret and Abrika (2013-b) demonstrate that trustworthiness into institutions and representatives of the public institutions is extremely weak in Kabylia, particularly at the level of the closer institutions (Wilaya ...). That could explain the importance of community bonding ties (we trust in the family, in close friends, in the inhabitants of our village).

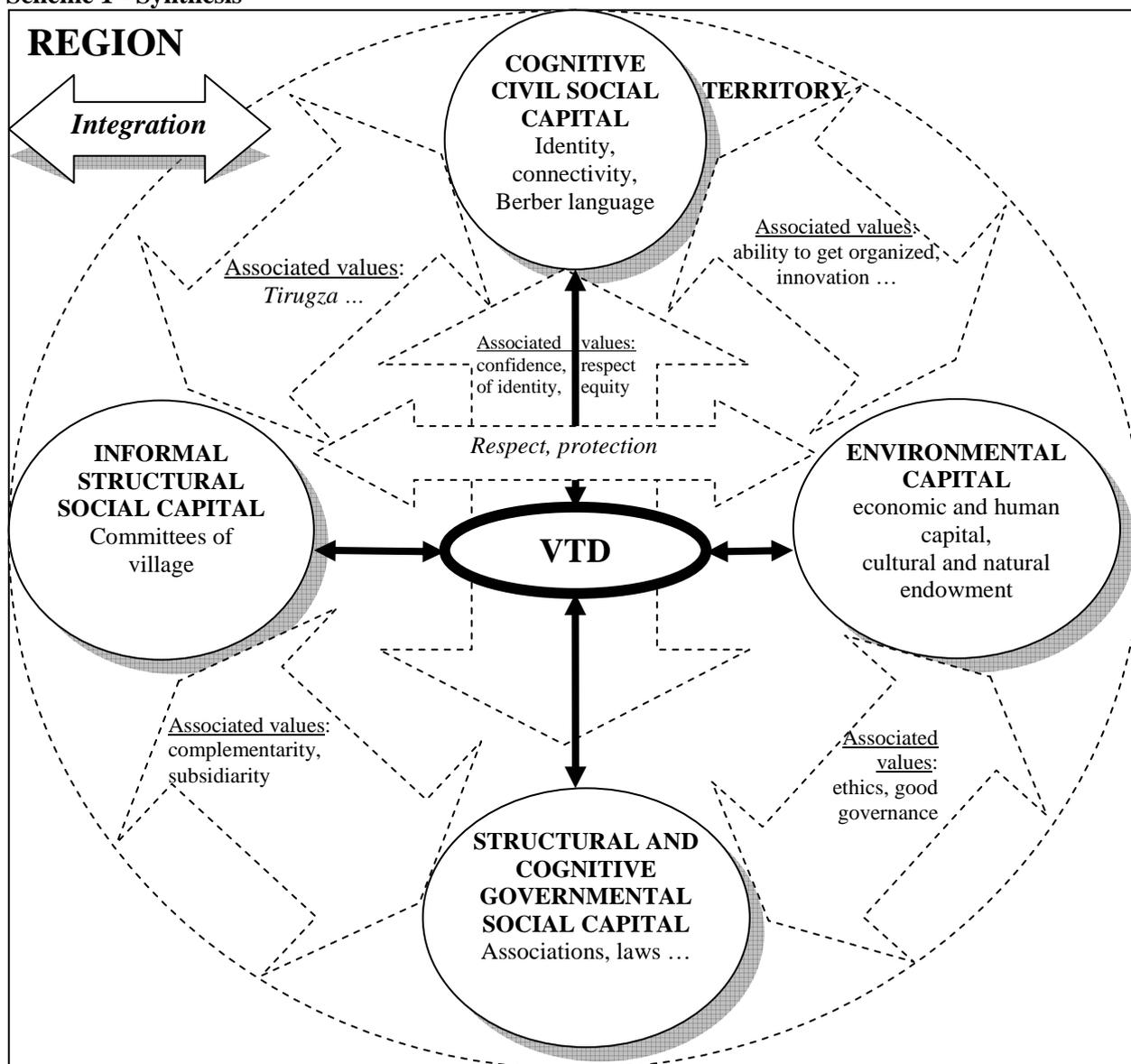
2.2 The viable territorial development

As an individual resource, “social capital plays a prevalent role in economic performance as an individual, organization, and country through its support of increased informational flow and reduction of transaction costs” (Kapucu, 2011, 24). The viable territorial development (VTD) points out the relations between the social and environmental variables (quality of the human development, well-being) through the notion of capital (Gagnon, 2008, 2). If the social capital concept, although being polysemous, is today well known, that of environmental capital is less usual. The environmental capital refers to given and constructed natural, economic, human and cultural capital. The viability supposes the sustainability of a dynamic system, thus it deals with criteria of equity (an income distribution preserving the social peace for example) and criteria of ethics (virtuous behavior pattern between the actors and between the actors and their natural environment for example). Their non compliance generates tensions between the actors of the system, even open conflicts (strikes, revolts, civil wars ...). A viable development supposes the respect of the "Alive" (respect of the Man and respect of natural environment). The respect for deeply rooted identities subject to evolution (*tiwiza* tends to get lost as evolve the forms of solidarities), must be taken into account to preserve the balances (avoid social tensions ...). The trustworthiness between the actors and between the actors and their institutions must be strong so that a territorial dynamics is viable.

Gagnon and al. (2008, 5) identify three strategic factors of the territorial dynamics: the integration of a territory in a regional area (it sends back to the idea of the opening, the transactions ...), the “civil connectivity” and, finally, in absence of favorable socioeconomic characteristics, the territories where

the actors are dynamic, proud of their identity, where there is a participative governance and a long-term vision. The informal participative governance is undeniable in Kabylia (Hanoteau and Letourneux specified in 1893 that this political and administrative organization was one of the most democratic and, at the same time, one of the simplest we can imagine), the pride of the "kabylicity" is obvious but a long-term vision is missing. We voluntarily use this word "kabylicity" rather than "berberity" because Kabyle are not only proud to be Berber but are also proud to belong to a territory which has a long tradition of resistance. However, being proud of this membership in a community embedded in a specific territory should not be transformed into community enclosure dangerous to the integration into the regional or national area. The results of the applied research implemented by Perret and Abrika (2013b) demonstrate that there is not specific community enclosure in Kabylia. In the scheme presented below (Scheme 1), we synthesize the different variables (environmental capital and social capital desegregated in three parts) which could impact on the territorial development viability. We have, also, indicated through dotted line arrows, the values impacting a process of virtuous development.

Scheme 1 - Synthesis



Réalisation personnelle.

- **The link between the cognitive civil social capital and the informal structural social capital**

The values deeply anchored in the Kabyle community (*tirugza*) perpetuate the committees of villages which survive themselves only if the Kabyle identity remains alive.

- **The link between the cognitive civil social capital and the environmental capital**

We know that social capital “is one of the core values which have a positive effect on individuals as well as organizational effectiveness” (Kapucu, 2011, 25). The “connectivity”, the “art of association”, has an impact on the development of the environmental capital (new business start-up, creation of associations, positive externalities of the mutual aid ...) in which Men live. Conversely, the

environmental capital development modifies the importance granted to certain values (familial solidarity decreases when social redistribution increases).

- **The link between the informal structural social capital and the environmental capital**

If local authorities and associations are usually involved in natural resources management, it is very insufficient in Kabylia. The collection of household waste is poor and the lack of garbage dumps is a real danger for the environment. It's why, for example, a village named Zouvga, thanks to the awareness of his committee, conducts actions to protect its natural environment (acquisitions of trash cans ...). Zouvga is today considered as the cleanest village in Kabylia. The "connectivity" impacts on the level and on the quality of the environmental capital.

- **The link between cognitive civil capital and structural social capital and the cognitive governmental social capital**

If the civil social capital is strong in Kabylia (identity and values), the distrust in the governmental structural capital is obvious. This situation could explain the pessimistic speeches about the future of this territory we frequently hear on the ground. It seems to be necessary that the authorities propose a vision of the future and restore trust, while respecting a strong identity, to generate a viable development dynamic. If the last condition is not respected, the dynamics of the system could be impacted on by tensions/conflicts.

- **The link between structural and cognitive government social capital and environmental social capital**

The governance and the legislation impact on the environmental capital. For example, the quality of the public school impacts on the accumulation of human capital which can himself impact on the evolution of the governance.

- **The link between informal structural social capital and the governmental structural or the cognitive governmental social capital**

Governmental informal and formal structural social capital can be complementary or subsidiary, but a complete substitution among one to another would mean or "the independence" of the Kabyle village (if the informal structural capital subsists only), or the disappearance, even the negation of the traditions of organization (if the governmental social capital subsists only).

CONCLUSION

In Kabylia, territory where an informal organization anchored in the tradition survives, the "art of association" or "the propensity to generate ties" is also the expression of the territoriality. In the case of bad formal governance and/or when there is reliable distrust in governmental institutions, the populations, according to their culture, their history and their territory, get organized to find solutions. It is the survival of an ancestral social organization (*tajmaat* and *âarch*), underlain by certain values (democracy, mutual aid ...), which sometimes, allowed the Kabyle population to overcome its difficulties. Informal social structural capital have implications for economic development and poverty reduction.

In the village, territorial and political primary unit, citizens share the same system of representation and are proud of their identity and bonding ties and *tiwiza* are the core of the informal governance. Local coordination, through the village committee and collective utility work who offers missing public goods, impact on the process of territorial development and environmental protection. The involvement in committees and *tiwiza* is the sign of the involvement of the inhabitants in the political debate of the village, mobilization to the village development and protection of the Kabyle culture (you are an *argaz* if you freely help the others...) thus perpetuating the traditions.

If ties are potential resources, they become a capital when they are activated. The activities of the committees demonstrate that there is a transformation of the "art to create ties" into social capital. The production of resources results from the long tradition of reciprocity, from a culture and from practices embedded in a specific territory. Social capital can be used alongside other resources such as human capital, physical capital or economic capital.

Governmental structural formal and informal social capital must be complementary. In case of total substitution from one to another, two situations can arise: either a situation of "independence" of the village - which could impact on the integration in the sense of Gagnon and al. (2008) - or in a situation of disappearance of the ancestral governance systems. In both cases, social tensions could appear and impact on the territorial development.

Finally, a process of viable territorial development needs a quality of the ties between the actors (Men and organizations). Improving the trustworthiness of the population in the politicians and the institutions is a long process, and, to reach it, it seems necessary to respect a number of rules of good behavior pattern which reintroduce some ethics in public affairs. But ethics is also a private affair. It is necessary because, as we saw it, to "call the knowledge" can also recover the "dark side".

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¹ Numerous authors use the word *jemaâ* instead of *tajmaat*. We shall use the word *tajmaat*. It means assembly or meeting place.

² *Tamurt Imazighen, terre kabyle*“ is the title of Martial Rémond's work republished by Annic Droz, Ibis Press. The word *tamurt* is translated on the ground.

³ Weber, M., 1971. *Économie and société*, Paris, Plon.

⁴ Kabyle poet (1836 - 1901).

⁵ *Tiwiza* survives even if we can see a relative social disintegration due to the migrations, to the transformation of the family (more conjugal homes), to the consequences of the civil war during the 90's or to the urbanisation.

⁶ See the article "Tiwizi (or tradition amazigh of active solidarity)" By Azergui Mohamed on the site: <http://tawiza.x10.mx/Tawiza131/tiwizi.htm> [accessed 20 January 2014].

⁷ According to Mercury and al. (1997, 26-29), eight subcultures can be listed in Algeria: coastal Zone, High plateaus, Steppe, the South, Mounts of Kabylia, Mounts of Aurès, Tlemcen, Maghnia-Sebdou and M'zab.